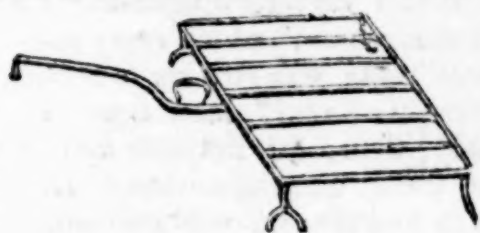


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 66.—No. 19.]

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[Price 7d.]



"But, the fact is, that there are *Catholic Boroughmongers*: these are closely connected with your "*able friends*": they are one body indeed. These able friends will not go a step beyond what the Catholic seat-jobber approves of: the seat jobber would, coming from Mass, see the whole Irish people drop dead before him, with hunger and disease, rather than give up a seat; and he must see clearly, that no seat could he have to traffic in, if those measures were adopted which are necessary to make the Irish people free and happy.

"Gentlemen, (addressing myself to the *English Catholic Association*) be you well assured, that a seat-dealer, Protestant or Catholic, would see the whole of the six millions of Catholics roasted before a slow fire, rather than give up a single seat; and yet, good God! can this change in your affairs (alluding to Catholic Emancipation) be expected without such events as would demolish the whole of that infamous traffic."  
—Register, 30th October, 1824.

## SECOND LETTER TO THE MEN OF KENT.

*On the subject of Catholic Emancipation.*

*Barn-Elm Farm, 5th November, 1828.*

MY FRIENDS,

THE point which you settled on PENNENDEN HEATH has become, and very naturally, a topic of universal interest and discussion; and I think it my duty to return to it again, and not to quit it, till I have got on record all the material circumstances; and until, as far as my opinions with respect to any part of this subject may be concerned, it will be only necessary to refer to the last Register, to the present Register, and to the one which will succeed, and which will be wholly occupied by a Letter to HIS HOLINESS the POPE; I, having changed my intention with regard to

this last-mentioned work, which I now intend to publish in the Register, in order that it may have as wide and as rapid a circulation as I am able to give it. This work, therefore, will appear in the next Number of the Register; and I bespeak, beforehand, your attention to it; for, though we are no Catholics, we are deeply interested in this matter.

The accounts that have been published relative to the KENT-MEETING, other than that which I published myself, have wholly *blinked the main question*; that is to say, whether the meeting were *for* or *against* that piece of prime roquery, called "*CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION*," which is, in fact, *boroughmongering* and *tax-eating*, in their worst form and degree. These accounts, and particularly those in the *country papers*, have so disfigured the whole thing, that a person not present at the meeting, would imagine, that we came to no decision at all relative to "*Catholic Emancipation*"; and, you know, Gentlemen, that that question was decided in the *clearest possible manner*, and that, too, in the *negative*.

THE KENT HERALD, which is, I suppose, devoted to the faction that used to be called *Whigs*, but which has now assumed the name of "*Liberals*," the old name having begun literally to stink in the nostrils of the people, if a sound can be said to have that effect. This paper, conducted, I dare say, by some one who is just as much a slave of the Whig aristocracy, as others are of the Tory aristocracy, has spoken of me, and of my conduct at the meeting, in the following manner.

"There is nothing so painful to us as alluding to the *divisions* of the liberal, or, if Mr. COBBETT pleases, the Radical party; but we must say, that we scarcely know terms strong enough to express our sense of the mischief occasioned to the great cause of Equal Rights, by that eccentric gentleman's presence on the present occasion. His attempt to divert the sympathies of the people from the persecuted Irish; his sneering at the very mention of Emancipation, as if injustice were not reprehensible, as if principle were foreign to his

notion of a political creed; his attack on Mr. Sheil, and on all the *distinguished men* (one excepted) of the *liberal party*, were revolting to every hater of oppression, every well-wisher to the general cause of justice and humanity. We observed with unspeakable mortification the confusion which his conduct and harangues occasioned among a portion of the multitude, who, considering him to be a friend of the people, and finding him ranged among the known friends of the popular cause, heard him, with Hunt following on the same side, opposing, inveighing against the very measure that every other liberal man was striving to recommend. Hundreds—not 'thousands,' as this modest personage asserts—were stultified by his proceedings. We saw them glance with vacant look, from him to other leaders of their party in surprise and doubt, at the very moment, when, if their energies had been applied in unison with the rest, our success would have been still less questionable. If he wished well to us, why did he not place himself among the Brunswickers and convert some of them? Our men needed not to be told of the iniquity of the tithe system. They were ready enough to give their voices against it on a proper occasion; but here, the introduction of that, or any other topic foreign to the great question of the day—*Liberality or Persecution—Peace or Civil Discord*—was treason against the popular cause. It was the less excusable in him, because he had been previously remonstrated with, on the folly, the cruelty of such a course. We hope never to see him again in public, for a man whose sole principle is personal notoriety at the expense of any and every thing, is dangerous in most causes, and unworthy in all."

Now, Gentlemen, in the first place, if I took from the "*Liberals*" only hundreds, and not "*thousands*," how came the "*Liberals*" to be defeated? Next, his charge against me of attacking Mr. SHEIL and all the distinguished men on the liberal side, with one single exception. That is a falsehood, for I uttered not a word by the way of attack upon Mr. HODGES; and as to the distinguished SHEIL, he excited nothing but my contempt, which was prevented from becoming compassion by my knowledge of his character and his motives. Since the meeting, indeed, I have pretty severely attacked him; and that too, in the most effectual manner; for, who but I has stripped him of his plumes, and shown him up to the whole kingdom, as the meanest of reptiles, having resorted to a hiring of the base part of the press of London, to print and promulgate as his speech delivered on PENENDEN

HEATH, that which he had written, even before he had left London.

This is one of the "*Kent Herald's*" distinguished men. The next assertion is, that I inveighed against "*Catholic Emancipation*," which every other "*liberal*" man was striving to recommend. These "*liberal*" men acted clandestinely, then; for not one man, except the three *Irishmen*, LORD DARNLEY, SHEA and SHEIL, said one single word about Catholic Emancipation; and even Mr. LARKIN himself (and this is very material); even Mr. LARKIN himself, who was Mr. SHEIL's patron, who introduced him to the meeting, who had him in his own wagon with DOCTOR DOYLE, did not let fall even an allusion to "*Catholic Emancipation*"; and, give me leave to add, that he did not dare to make such allusion.

This writer says, that the people of Kent did not need to be told of the iniquity of the tithe system, and were ready enough to give their voices against it, upon a proper occasion. The fine, old, stale, and stinking Whigs are great enemies of all sorts of abuses: I have known them to be such for thirty long years; but I never yet found them, in one single instance, able to find out the proper occasion. This appeared to me to be the most proper occasion in the world, when we were called upon to decide with regard to the best means of supporting the establishment in Church and State. Not a word was there in the requisition about Catholic "*Emancipation*"; not a word about it, in the petition which I had the honour to submit; not a word about it in the amendment proposed by Mr. HODGES. The BRUNSWICKERS, in accord with the requisition, proposed their mode of supporting the establishments; I proposed my mode; Mr. HODGES proposed that we should adjourn without petitioning for any mode at all, and that the latter should be left to his Majesty's Ministers! And yet this KENT HERALD calls "*Catholic Emancipation*" "*the great question of the day*." If it had been the great question of the day, it would have been decided even before the arrival of the Sheriff; for the grand green banner, with the



words "*Catholic Emancipation*" upon it, which was about to be hoisted in the wagon of Mr. LARKIN, was hooted down, by the unanimous voice of the people; and this hooting was commenced by a well-dressed gentleman, standing in Mr. LARKIN'S OWN wagon! To be sure, I joined in the marks of disapprobation; but the feeling of the meeting was unanimous upon the subject. And observe, gentlemen, that, with respect to this banner and its fate, the KENT HERALD man says not one single word.

But, as to the *tithes* we are told here, that the people "needed not to be told" of the iniquity of the tithe system; and "that they were ready enough to give" their voices against it upon a *proper occasion*." Now, Gentlemen, I appeal to thousands of you, who heard him, whether Mr. LARKIN himself, who followed, from the same wagon with SHEIL, and who manifestly wished to waste the time, in order to prevent me from being heard; I appeal to these thousands of you, whether nine-tenths of his speech, not to say every word of it, did not consist of an attack upon the tithe system and the parsons of the Established Church; and whether all the facts and all the sense, which he uttered on the subject, were not a *liberal translation* of what he had read two days before in my "*FACTS FOR THE MEN OF KENT*;" I make this appeal to these thousands of you, and yet the sage of the KENT HERALD infers that this was not a *proper occasion* for discussing the subject of tithes.

This writer, as well as others, represents *Catholic Emancipation* as presenting to us the question of "*liberality or persecution, peace or civil discord*"; and some of them have represented Mr. HODGES as having called upon the meeting to be *just and merciful towards the ill-treated people of Ireland*. Did not my petition, Gentlemen, contain sentiments of justice and mercy towards the ill-treated people of Ireland? If this man of the KENT HERALD were susceptible of blushing, he would, upon the perusal of that petition, not only blush for what he has here said, but retract his words and beg pardon of you

and of me. But, Gentlemen, to yield to "*Catholic Emancipation*" *would not be* to show a disposition to do justice, and to be merciful to the people of Ireland. It would be to do so much towards adding to the ill-treatment, which that wretched people now endures. I think that I have proved this in a letter published in the MORNING CHRONICLE last Saturday, which letter, I shall, before I proceed further, insert here, begging you to give it a patient perusal; and when you have done that, I am satisfied, that you will be convinced that I did my duty on PENENDEN HEATH, and that you did yours.

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

Baru Elm Farm, Oct. 30, 1828.

SIR—I have a very strong desire that this "*Catholic Question*," as it has so long been called, this question of "*Catholic Emancipation*," should stand fairly before the people of England; before my readers it has always stood fairly; but, just at this time, for the sake of England as well as for the sake of Ireland, for the sake of the happiness and the sake of both the countries, I am anxious that it should now stand fairly before every man in the kingdom. You, Sir, are, I perceive, making use of your utmost endeavours to persuade the public to believe that what is called "*Catholic Emancipation*," is not only just in itself, but that it is absolutely necessary to *restore Ireland to a state of tranquillity*, and to prevent additional heavy burthens falling upon England, in order to maintain a military force for the purpose of keeping the Irish in subjection. Nay, you go further, and tell us, that *Catholic Emancipation* is necessary to prevent the Irish people from rising in rebellion, and thereby greatly embarrassing the Government, at least, at a time when it may possibly be called upon to bend all its strength against a foreign enemy. In short, the sum of your remarks upon this subject is this, that "*Catholic Emancipation*" would, of itself, *make the people of Ireland happy and contented*.

Now, Sir, let us, if we can, divest ourselves of all the feelings recently excited by the singular circumstances attending the late Kent Meeting; and let us reason this matter coolly, and make our appeal to the plain sense of our readers.

What, then, are the nature and character of the evils existing in Ireland? Great, and almost indescribable, and even inconceivable wretchedness and misery amongst all the labouring classes of that kingdom; innumerable marks of discontent, and acts of violence and of blood; in numerous cases misery so great as to merit the appellation of starvation, and violence so general as to approach very nearly to what may be fairly denominat- ed rebellion.

And what, Sir, is "*Catholic Emancipation*?" It is this—the seating in Parliament certain Peers who are now excluded from it on account of their religion; the opening of the House of Commons, and of the King's Council, to certain Gentlemen who are now excluded from them; and the opening of the way to the Bench and certain Law Offices to Catholic lawyers against whom that way is now closed.

Without going any further, every man of sense will inquire, *How is it possible* that the elevation of these persons should possibly produce the mighty effects which you would have us anticipate from it? Every man of sense will ask, how several millions of wretched people, several millions of creatures half naked, and half starved, should be raised into comfort and content by a mere sharing of the lay, legislative, and executive powers between Protestants and Catholics, without any change whatsoever in the principles upon which those powers are executed, or in the manner or price of the execution? Every man of sense will ask these questions; because none of the advocates of "*Catholic Emancipation*," and none of the parties who so strenuously apply for it, have, as far as I can recollect, ever hinted at a desire to make any change whatsoever in the mode of conducting the affairs of the Government, in the fiscal exactions of that Government, or in the distribution of the

money collected, except in as far as they want a share of that money themselves.

Here are several millions of human beings in the lowest depth of misery and degradation. Were we to go no further than the reports made to the Parliament, we should be convinced that human wretchedness never, as affecting millions, was equal to that which the millions of Ireland endure. Those reports tell us, that nakedness is so common, that to see great girls, and even grown women, in a state of perfect nudity, and that too in great numbers, scarcely shocks the beholders. The great object of solicitude in that unhappy country is, not whether the people shall have something better to eat than the swine, but whether the miserable creatures shall have sufficiency of that. I will not refer to the heart-chilling accounts of 1822, but will content myself with the general and *permanent state of the country*, and it is that of a people being far worse than well-fed hogs, and far more destitute of clothing than the majority of beggars that are seen asking alms in every other country in the world.

What man, that has a heart in his bosom, must not wish for *any thing*, aye, *any thing*, that would better the lot of this ill-treated and most unhappy people? But is there a man, with sense and sincerity in his mind, as well as a heart in his bosom, who can believe, or affect to believe, that that lot would be made better by what is called "*Catholic Emancipation*?" I am convinced that it would not; and I am further convinced that that measure would render the case of the wretched Irish even more *desperate* than it now is; and, in support of this opinion, I now proceed to offer my reasons:—

The Irish people are miserable from two causes: First, from the existence of a Hierarchy, which, while it exacts from them, in the most rigorous manner, and by an agency the most inexorable, a considerable part of the fruit of their earnings, leaves them to derive spiritual consolation from a priesthood which they are compelled to pay out of another part of their earnings, and which priesthood is rendered necessary to them by



the circumstances in which they are placed; Second, from the *absence of Poor Laws*, and of all provision for persons pressed by the sufferings arising from hunger and cold. This latter cause produces another; namely, the absence from the country of those, who, from the dangers to which they are exposed in consequence of the sufferings of the people, expend in foreign countries that which they ought to spend at home; and, observe, Sir, Ireland is the only country upon earth, where such absence, from such a motive, has ever been heard of.

These are the *true causes* of all the miseries, all the troubles, all the tumults, all the disgraceful regulations, not excepting that, according to which the people are shut up in their houses from sunset to sunrise, under pain of transportation beyond the seas. Let me put to your sincerity then, Sir, whether you believe, that any, even the smallest part of these causes, would be removed, by the putting of Catholic peers into the House of Lords, Catholic commoners into the House of Commons, and Catholic lawyers upon the Bench; especially as these persons have, upon all occasions, declared, in the most explicit manner, that they want no change in the powers and emoluments of the Protestant Hierarchy, and have never, upon any occasion, even whispered a wish to see the Poor Laws introduced into Ireland?

Put that question to yourself, Sir, and answer it to yourself in an audible voice; do this, and I am sure you will start at the sound of the affirmative. If that which is called "*Catholic Emancipation*" were to take place, there would be no diminution in the amount of either tithes or the taxes: there might be an addition to the former, because the candidates for them would become more numerous than they now are. The people are miserable, because they are not suffered to enjoy hardly any part of the fruit of their labour; but this "*emancipation*" would not give them a single potato more than they now have. It could not possibly have this effect. The owners of the land would be just what they now are; would reside just as much

out of the country; would abandon and scorn the wretched people just as much as they now do; would no more consent to poor-rates in Ireland than the present legislature does. It is, therefore, delusion of the grossest kind to believe that the people of Ireland would be raised from their present misery by that measure which you so strongly advocate, and which you represent as necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland. Why should the people become tranquil in consequence of a measure that can by no possibility do them good; that can by no possibility alleviate their sufferings? The people are discontented, violent, vindictive, and full of rage: they are so, because they suffer greatly; and why should they cease to be so, in consequence of a measure which cannot take one hair's weight from their sufferings?

I may be told, that the people of themselves are the best judges of their own wishes, and of the ground of their discontent; and that, the *people cry aloud* for "*Catholic Emancipation*." Upon my word, Sir, I have never perceived this; but, if I were to hear them cry aloud for this measure, I should only say that they were labouring under delusion hardly ever equalled in the world. The fact is, however, that they are made to believe that "*Catholic Emancipation*" means an indescribable something that would *make them better off than they are*; that would give them more and better victuals to eat, and more and better clothing to wear. The orators, and writers, to whom they surrender their senses, have never once told them, have never once dared to tell them, "*Emancipation*, good people, though a very delightful thing, can never add a potato to your meal, and never put a shoe upon your feet; can never relieve you from the visits of the tithe-proctor, can never exonerate you from paying church-rates to the Hierarchy, can never take away one single soul of those myriads of *middle men* who press the very vitals out of your bodies." Never have these kind orators told them this; but have talked to them about "*Green Erin*," about the "*gem of the sea*" about their being bondsmen and slaves:

and, sliding in the words "*Catholic Emancipation*" here and there, have made them believe *that that was a something* which would give them all that they wanted in the world.

But, Sir, have you always turned your eyes from the *mischief* which "*Catholic Emancipation*" might do to Ireland, even on the score of tranquillity? We all know the effects of disappointed hope; and, if we wanted a lesson upon the subject, it might, at a convenient moment, be detailed to us by Mr. Shea, Doctor Doyle, Mr. Sheil, and the "*liberals*" of Kent. But, Sir, all of us know it, and most of us but too well. Now, Sir, if the Freeholders of Clare, and the other sons of "*green Erin*," who have so often, on the motion of Mr. O'Connell, shouted for "*old Ireland and unconditional Emancipation*;" if they were to see this *Emancipation* take place, and were to see the winter alter next bring not the smallest relief from their sufferings, and find themselves at the same time, as it might happen, with a short crop of potatoes in the hovel; I ask you, Sir, whether you believe that they would be more contented and peaceable than formerly, in consequence of having the consolation to reflect, that the Duke of Norfolk was sitting in the House of Peers, and the great Daniel and Mr. Sheil in the House of Commons, making speeches, which fly to the type from the previous thoughts of the Orator, and Mr. Shea, perhaps, sitting delivering the law to us from the Bench? I ask you whether you think that reflecting on these things would so completely comfort their hearts, as to make them think no more of hunger or of cold; though that hunger and cold would be just as great as they are at this moment, or as they have been on an average of years during the whole of your lifetime?

Besides, can you see, Sir, no reason for believing that this "*Emancipation*", whether accompanied by salaries to the Catholic Priests or not, would render the lot of the people of Ireland even *worse* than it is now? I can. At present the Catholic Nobility, Gentry, and Lawyers have *some little sympathy* with

the people; it is necessary that they conciliate them, in order that, by the means of their voices, they may obtain that which they themselves want. Look at the caressing which has recently taken place with regard to the forty-shilling freeholders of Clare; look at the various modes resorted to by the Associators and Agitators to gain the friendship of the people! Once *emancipated*, as they call it—once in possession of a share of the powers, honours, and emoluments of the present system, never would this wretched people experience one act of kindness, one word of commiseration, on the part of these their now pretended friends. Once admitted into power, they would not only have all the feelings of those who enjoy the power at present, but they would surpass them in acts of oppression, and in words of contumely and disdain; as new converts are always more zealous than the major part of the flock which they join, so these men, if admitted within the pale of the system, would give it new vigour, and would carry on its oppressions with a higher hand, and at a lower price, than their Protestant rivals would have the cruelty and the severity to do.

It is now manifest, Sir, to all the world, or at least to all that part of it who behold the state of this country, that there can be no effectual remedy to the evils we now complain of, without a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. We have abundant proof that the two Associations, and that all the Members who make the greatest figure in them; and, in short, that the whole Body of the Catholic Nobility, Gentry and Lawyers, are decidedly, and even bitterly, hostile to this Reform. In the year 1812, Mr. Hay, Secretary to the Catholic Board in Ireland, came over to England during the Session of Parliament, to solicit the support of Sir F. Burdett to the cause of Emancipation. Burdett told him that I was more able to give him assistance than he was, and that if he would go to me, who was then in Newgate for two years, with a thousand pounds fine upon my back, for having expressed my indignation at the



flogging of English local militiamen, in the Isle of Ely, under a guard of German bayonets—if he, Mr. Hay, would go to me, Burdett would meet him. He did this. After having heard him, Sir Francis Burdett said, in answer to what Mr. Hay had said relative to the miseries, discontents, and disturbances in Ireland, “I do not see how your being put into places of profit or honour can lessen the miseries and discontents of the people. You never *join us* in our endeavours to get Parliamentary Reform, without which you never will have Emancipation, and you never ought to have it. The people of this country have a prejudice against the Catholics, and it is an honest prejudice; because they look upon the Catholic religion as a religion which teaches slavery; and the only way to remove that prejudice is to convince them of the contrary by cordially joining us in the cause of Reform.” On these grounds he concluded by declaring that he would have nothing to do with the matter.

Sir Francis staid till after Mr. Hay had gone away; and then he said to me: “No, no, Cobbett! let us have nothing to do with them; they are in search for a share of the power of oppressing us; and they would add to the number of our oppressors, while the miserable people in Ireland would remain just in the state they now are; and it would be foolish indeed to risk our popularity, to get ourselves confounded with them, for the purpose of giving them power, and give them motives too, to assist in supporting all the present corruptions.” At such a distance of time I would not swear to these words; but, I would swear to the substance.

Accordingly, that very Session, I believe, you will find Sir Francis Burdett, in his seat in Parliament, calling the Catholic Question “an *annual farce*”; and, in a Session or two or three afterwards, you will find him, upon the bringing on of this question again, rising in his place in Parliament, declaring it to be a mere delusion, a despicable farce to deceive the people, and that he would not remain to *give it countenance by his presence*; whereupon he *walked out of the House*! You will tell me, perhaps (and

God knows you may save yourself the trouble), that since this time Sir Francis Burdett has wholly changed his opinion upon this subject; and that, in 1825, he thought *Emancipation* of such primary importance, that it was advisable, for the purpose of accomplishing it, to *disfranchise* (Oh, God!) *the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland*, and to make us pay taxes—and his own constituents, the People of Westminster, amongst the rest—to give salaries to the bishops and priests of the Catholic Religion; though the clergy of your own Church, to whom we are compelled to render tithes and dues, teach us that the Catholic religion is *idolatrours and damnable*.

I have not changed my opinions thus: I have uniformly acted upon those opinions, respecting this matter, which Sir Francis Burdett entertained and expressed in 1812. So far from despising or scoffing at the Catholic religion, I venerate it as the religion of our forefathers; as the religion of those who were the founders of all our liberties; of those, who founded all our colleges and universities; of those, who built all our churches and cathedrals; of those, who made England renowned throughout the world, for good living, for hospitality, and for integrity in commerce; of those, who rendered poor-rates and church-rates unnecessary, who made the name of *pauper* unknown in this then happy country, who made the country rich and glorious; and to calumniate the memory of whom, and not to defend it when one has the power, appears to me to be a species of ingratitude as black as any appertaining to that of that blackest of crimes.

But, Sir, because I think this, and because I am sincerely of opinion, that the Catholic Priests whom we have in these two islands, are as virtuous, if not the most virtuous, priesthood in the world—and think also, that the great body of the Catholics are more truly pious, moral, and christian-like in their conduct than any of the rest of us, am I, for these reasons, to be for putting power into the hands of that part of them whom I know, and whom I produce evidence to prove, have the strongest desire to

perpetuate all abuses and corruption, and who could not possibly do otherwise than add to our burthens and our calamities?

I have trespassed upon you too long already; but, nevertheless, I cannot conclude without declaring it to be my conviction, that there is no remedy for the miseries and troubles of Ireland, other than that of greatly diminishing at least the exactions of the Hierarchy; and, accompanying that measure, *establishing of poor laws as in England*; and you will observe, Sir, that to these just and necessary measures the Catholic aristocracy and lawyers are as strongly opposed as any persons in this whole kingdom. To me it has always appeared the strangest thing in the world, that the land-owners of England should persevere in taxing us and taxing themselves too, for the maintenance of a monstrous army, to compel the poor Irish to starve without resistance, while our land-owners and all of us pay rates to relieve our own poor, and, in general, do it without grudging. I myself, for instance, pay at this time more than *seventy pounds a year* to the relief of the poor. I do this without grudging. I know it is my duty. I know that the poor have a right to relief from those who have the means to give it; and, if the right be denied, I know they have a right to revert to the law of nature, and to relieve their present necessities by taking the necessary food and raiment. But, am I thus to discharge my duty, and am I to be taxed at the same time to support an army to compel the poor of Ireland to die quietly from starvation for want of relief from the funds of the rich?

These are the things that are wanted, Sir, to restore tranquillity to Ireland: these things never will be without a reform in the Parliament; those who are crying for *Emancipation* are opposed to that Reform more strongly than any other body of persons that I know; and therefore, for this reason, not forgetting the other reasons above stated, I am opposed to "*Catholic Emancipation*;" and, Sir, when you shall have taken time duly to consider these reasons, I am sure that your penetration, your good sense,

and your candour, will induce you to retract the appellations of "*Kentish Boors*" and "*rabble*," which, in a hasty moment, you applied to those persons, who, on PENENDEN HEATH, acted upon these reasons.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Well, gentlemen, you have now my reasons, fully stated in the face of the world, for being opposed to "*Catholic Emancipation*" in the present state of things; and that, too, for the sake of the people of Ireland, as well as for our own sakes. If these reasons can be upset by the writer of the KENT HERALD, I will promise him to gratify his wish in *never appearing in public again*; a wish, which, at present, I am by no means disposed to comply with, though my non-compliance may again expose me to his charge of "*being solely actuated by the principle of personal notoriety*," for which I must have a cormorant appetite, indeed, if it have not long ago been glutted.

Personal notoriety formed no part of my motive; there was a duty to perform, and I was at my post; and, though "*previously remonstrated with*," as that writer calls it, I was not to be diverted from the performance of that duty. But here again, Mr. LARKIN it is, or one of the two gentlemen that were with him at his house on the Wednesday evening, and who joined him in what is called the remonstrance, *who gave this information to the KENT HERALD*. Mr. LARKIN might, when he was giving this information, have told the Editor of the Kent Herald, that he, Mr. LARKIN, from his own lips, *offered that I should be the mover of the question of adjournment, and that I should have all the credit of it to myself, if I would consent to join with those who were for the adjournment*. And this is my answer to the scurrilous imputation, of preferring "*personal notoriety*" to every thing else." I call upon Mr. LARKIN to contradict this statement if he can.



What then, gentlemen, is the question, as far as relates to the Catholics? I mean the question as said to have been in contemplation of the liberals. It is this; not whether we shall do anything to benefit the wretched people of Ireland; but whether we shall agree, under the name of *Catholic Emancipation*, to a measure which would be injurious to the people of England and to the whole of the people of Ireland. Please to look at the motto, which I have chosen for the present Register; please to look at the date of that motto; and please to observe, in addition, that that motto was written and published, not only before my *HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION* was published, but even before it was begun; before one word of it was put upon paper. I had formed the design of writing this history several years before: I regarded the writing of it as a most sacred duty: and I was not to be diverted from the performance of that duty, by the political baseness which I perceived to exist throughout the whole body of the Catholic aristocracy and lawyers. I had seen hundreds of instances of this baseness; I knew well their tyrannical and grasping disposition; but, that knowledge was not to divert me from defending the calumniated memory of our forefathers, and from doing justice, as far as I had the power, to my Catholic fellow-subjects in general, who have upon all occasions expressed their gratitude towards me, in a manner that would prove their sincerity, if they had not given proof of it, by so long sacrificing their interests to the dictates of their conscience.

At a meeting of the grand Catholic Association in London, in October 1824, (before the *HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION* was begun,) Mr. WEEBLE of Berkshire, a very sincere and worthy man, made a motion that the Association should present me with a copy of Dr. LINGARD's *History of England*. The Association were astounded at this proposition; and one BUTLER, a Catholic lawyer, told Mr. WEEBLE that he would go upon his knees to prevail upon Mr. WEEBLE to

withdraw his motion; lest, in the first place, it might not be agreeable to Dr. Lingard; and lest, by presenting me with the book, the Association might offend its most able friends in Parliament, and offend the Government itself, by seeming to have formed a coalition with me, and to have indented themselves with my politics; that is to say, the reduction of tithes, diminution of pensions and places, and an abolition of trafficking in seats. Now, an opportunity has offered, for their "able friends" to come to their assistance. Did these able friends appear at the Kent Meeting, and by whom was their question of emancipation defeated? By those very radicals with whom they were so afraid of being suspected of having coalesced.

Soon after this transaction took place, I received a letter from DOCTOR MILNER, an English Catholic bishop, who has been the greatest glory of their church in this country for the last two hundred years, in which he speaks with suitable indignation of the cowardice and ingratitude evinced upon this occasion. This letter I will insert in my Letter to THE POPE, which is to be published next week. In short, this Catholic aristocracy and these Catholic lawyers are the greatest of all the enemies of reform; and all they want is, to have a share in the taxes.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, what is the situation of Ireland? Some of you recollect, that, when I was at the dinner at Maidstone, describing the wretched situation of the people of Ireland, COLONEL STRATFORD, who was an intruder after the dinner was over, and who interrupted me during my speech, asked me whether I was stating facts. I was told that it was COLONEL STRATFORD, I believe it was; if it was not, I shall be glad to correct the error. He asked me, if the facts that I was stating were true. I will now copy from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1823, a few items descriptive of this misery, as it existed in 1822. Amongst the evidence published by order of the House, was a letter from the Protestant ARCHBISHOP of TUAM, who, after giving an account of a man lying down upon

the ground and dying for want of food in his neighbourhood, says, "If swelled limbs, pale looks, sunk cheeks, and hollow eyes be the harbingers of death, the work of death will soon be very rapid in this country. I dismissed, this evening, three hundred men, whom I had employed in the repairs of the road: they said, that a day or two more, without employment, that is, without food, would put an end to all their labours." A letter from SLIGO was published by order of the House, which stated, that, "the people were destitute of a pot for boiling their victuals even if they had any; and that some within the last day or two, had been detected in stealing for food the sea-weed, which had been carried to the fields as manure. Another part of the evidence states, "that the general wretchedness of the people was such, that they were absolutely destitute of bedding, and, in certain cases, of clothing. Their cabins," says the evidence, "scarcely contain an article that can be called furniture; in some families there are no such things as bed-clothes; some fern and a quantity of straw thrown upon it, is their bed on which they sleep with their clothes on; potatoes their sole food, and then drink nothing but water." Another witness told the Committee, that "twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-five persons in one county, most of them unfitted by age and disease, to procure by labour the means of existence, were supported at an expense of not quite one penny each per day." During the same Session of Parliament, an Irish Member told the House, that even the females amongst the labouring classes, were, in many instances, perfectly naked. His words are these:—**THEY ARE PERFECTLY NAKED AS TO CLOTHING,** and perfectly helpless, without any comfort and convenience; and, unfortunately, the GENTRY are **SO USED TO SEE THAT KIND OF DISTRESS, THAT IT DOES NOT SHOCK THEM;** they see people NAKED; and without a bed to lie on; and they are not aware that

"is not the usual and proper way for them to exist, they are so **USED TO SEE IT.**"

Did I exaggerate, GENTLEMEN? Did I go beyond the truth of the picture I gave you of the wretchedness of Ireland? Of its general wretchedness; for, here the gentry were **SO USED TO SEE IT**, that they were not aware that this was not the *usual and proper way* for the labouring people to exist. You, Gentlemen, are well aware, that it is not the proper way, and so am I too; and therefore we were prepared to propose and support something calculated to have a practicable effect in putting an end to these horrible miseries. Did the "*able friends*" of Ireland who were present at the meeting propose any thing having such a tendency? And are you not convinced, Gentlemen, that it is the basest or the most foolish thing in the world to imagine what is called *Catholic Emancipation* would not have a tendency to augment rather than to lessen these miseries. I have given you the reasons for believing that it would have this tendency; and therefore, for the sake of Ireland, as well as for our own sakes, I am against *Catholic Emancipation*. The BRUNSWICKERS certainly obtained their victory, by the aid of the Radicals; but, as far as *Catholic Emancipation* was concerned, both were right, and the decision of the Sheriff, as far as related to the vote which was finally taken, was perfectly correct.

I have, I think, given sufficient proof of my anxious desire to see every disqualification removed from all religious denominations in the kingdom, provided that it can be done without injury to the people. I have proved, that this *Catholic Emancipation*, if adopted in the present state of things, would add to the number and strength of the foes of reform, and would be injurious to the people of both England and Ireland; and, if the wretched creatures in Ireland, stimulated partly by the wheedling and partly by the threats of noisy and unprincipled agitators, will give their pennies to be employed in hiring newspapers to calumniate the radicals and to pay for speeches printed in London, to be or not



to be spoken in Kent; if they be resolved thus to caress, to hug to their bosom, and to extol to the skies, the **VERY MEN** who, less than four years ago, wanted to *disfranchise them* and to lay *additional taxes on us*, for the sole purpose of *getting themselves into power*; if the people of Ireland labour under delusion to this lamentable extent, they are objects of our pity; but, if they will *rebel* (as we are told they will), unless we submit to have **THESE VERY SAME MEN**, who wanted to disfranchise them, forced *on us* to be our *legislators and judges*; if they will *rebel* in order to reduce us to this additional and insupportable degradation, rebel they must, and, as you told Lord DARNLEY, *we must put them down*. They did not, let them recollect, *save themselves from disfranchisement*. Their present idols undertook to make them submit to it *quietly*. They were saved by my pen and by the indignant voice of the *people of Westminster*: and I repeat that, if they will now rebel, in order to force *on us*, as legislators and judges, the **VERY SAME MEN**, who had firmly bargained to make them submit quietly to disfranchisement, on the ground of their being *unworthy* to exercise the right of voting; if they will rebel for this at once malignant and brutal purpose, rebel they must, and *we must put them down*.

The editor of the Morning Chronicle has called you "*Kentish boors*"; has called you "*ignorant*," and has said, that *country-people* have not the *same capacity for judging* as those who *live in towns*. Now, then, let Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, with all the "*liberal*" Lords and 'Squires at his back, call a meeting of the *people of Westminster*! Let him put to them the question of "*Catholic Emancipation*." Let him leave, for a few days, *his house at Paris*, and come and get a counterbalance to the decision of Kent. He dares not: I challenge him to it. Let some persons get a *Common-Hall in London*. I challenge them to it. Neither of these dare they do: and here, then, is an answer to the appellation of "*Kentish boors*."

You have now, Gentlemen, the whole

subject before you; to the dictates of your good sense and humanity I leave the decision, and I remain,

Gentlemen and Friends,  
Your most obedient and  
Most humble Servant,  
W. M. COBBETT.

### DINNER TO MR. SHEIL.

*To the Editor of the Morning Herald.*

Barn-Elm Farm, 4th Nov. 1828.

SIR,—As it was I who began the work of unveiling the famous speech, read so at large in the newspapers, and heard so *en abregé* on Penenden Heath, pray have the goodness to indulge me with a small space, while I endeavour to finish the work in a suitable manner. It was, you will bear me witness, with astonishment that the public first heard of the intention of this speech-maker to appear at a public dinner in London, after that detection and exposure, which the public owe almost entirely to your independence, and to a proper sense of your duty towards that public.

As to the dinner held yesterday at the City of London Tavern, the first thing to observe is, that not a single man known at all to the public, not a single Catholic of this description, was found with brass enough to appear at that Meeting. The Catholic Associations have applauded their *able friends*, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Mr. BROUGHAM, Mr. HOBHOUSE, Mr. HUME, Lord EBRINGTON, Lord NUGENT, Sir ROBERT WILSON, and many other Members of the House of Commons; and to several of them they have *voted their thanks*. Yet, not a single man of them was present on this occasion; and the only person at all ever known to the public, except Mr. HUNT, was Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, who has, for the last twenty-five years, been very little heard of. How comes it, Sir, that every man of distinction, every man at all known to the public, should have kept away from this Meeting? and that even Mr. DENMAN, though it appears that he had promised to go, before the hour of eating came, sent an apology for his absence?

We do, indeed, read, in almost all the

speeches, great compliments on the respectability of the Meeting. This is repeated so often, that it reminds one of a verse in POPE, which, speaking of the writings of some Doctor in Divinity, says, that he has asserted the truth of Christianity "so often, and in such a manner, that *even believers began to doubt.*" I am no believer in this case, and therefore can have no doubts. Mr. DENMAN says he *hastily* accepted of the invitation. The Learned Common Sergeant thought, no doubt, that other *able friends* of the Catholic cause were also to be present at the Meeting; but, when he found he was to be *alone, solus cum solum?* alone in a solitude, and no *honourable* gentleman to hear or address, his clerk luckily reminded him "of a most particular engagement (involving the convenience of numerous parties), for *that very evening!*"

While I congratulate the Learned COMMON SERGEANT on the assiduousness and good memory of his clerk, I must confess, myself, I was not disappointed (for how was the man to explain?) but astounded at the tameness of the Meeting, if it really consisted in any considerable part of Englishmen, in hearing without groans and hisses the miserable, the shuffling excuse relative to the fabricated speech? Mr. SHEIL confessed (for he could no longer deny) that the speech was written before the delivery; but he still pretends that it was only the *heads* of a speech. Why, Sir, the speech, as published in all the papers except yours, never alludes, from beginning to end, to any word that was said or any circumstance that took place on Penenden Heath. The speech, as published in all the papers but yours, was an answer to the letter of the Duke of NEWCASTLE, and contained not even an allusion to any thing said or done on Penenden Heath. To deceive you, something more than this bold fabrication was necessary; and, therefore, a head was clapped on the speech, as it was sent to, and published by you; but the fabricators, in their haste, having cut off a sentence of the original speech, in order to make the head fit, leave the orator, speaking, in the head of *Lord*

*Winchilsea*, and, in the next sentence, make him apply his arguments to "his Grace." The thing was brought to you, I dare say, at too late an hour to allow you to examine it before it went to press; but, when you discovered the "*scandalous fraud,*" as you most appropriately term it, you instantly made reparation, in which respect your example was followed by the *Courier*, but not, as I have been able to perceive, by any other paper.

If we had wanted any thing to give us a just idea of the character, of the taste, of the modesty, of the Irish Catholic Association, it has been furnished us in an account of the proceedings of that Association relative to this fabricated speech. In those proceedings of the 31st of October, we find one man making a motion for the printing and circulation of one thousand copies of the speech, and another seconding the motion, which appears to have passed without any opposition. The expense of printing and circulating was to come, of course, out of the *Catholic Rent*; and thus the poor wretched people of Ireland are to see expended on this "*scandalous fraud,*" a part of those pennies which are extorted from them by the threats of this Association! And as to this *dinner*, Sir, how many of the parties present would, or could, give a pound for being present? After what we have seen—after what we may well conclude to have been expended in England relative to the speech—why are we to reject the supposition that the Catholic Rent tended to swell the numbers at the City of London Tavern? We were told, a day or two ago, that *two hundred* tickets had already been issued. The general word is, *taken* or *sold*; and I frankly declare that I believe the issuing to have taken place at the expense of the poor creatures in Ireland.

The report represents Mr. HUNT as having expressed opinions differing in two respects from my statements; first as to the number of persons present, which I stated at 40,000, and he from 25 to 30,000. I actually counted eleven hundred horsemen, from the window of the Bull Inn, that stands on the Green, coming in at the three roads, leading



from MAIDSTONE, ROCHESTER, and BEXLEY. I saw great numbers come along the same roads afterwards; and at one time, upwards of three hundred men came together on horseback, down from the top of the Heath, leading from Canterbury. The area was not smaller than half an acre; and, well packed, as a great part of the area was, twenty thousand men would stand upon half an acre of ground. Then, there were all the wagons, all the tops of chaises and coaches, and not less than five or six thousand people, who remained on the outsides of these. Mr. HUNT appears to think, also, that there was a majority of the Meeting in favour of *Catholic Emancipation*. Now, Sir, this may remain a matter of mere opinion, until we re-advert to that important fact, which neither Mr. SHEIL, nor any *Emancipator*, ever alludes to; but the truth of which could be attested, if necessary, by almost every man that was at the Meeting; namely, that a green banner, a large green banner, with the words "Catholic Emancipation" written in SILVER on it (Catholic Rent again, poor deluded souls!) was brought into the wagon in which Mr. SHEIL, Dr. DOYLE, and Mr. LARKIN were; and that, before it could be completely unfurled and raised up, it was taken down, and hidden, for the rest of the day, at the bottom of the wagon, to be preserved, doubtless, to glad the sight of the payers of Catholic Rent in Ireland.

Now, Sir, is not this fact quite sufficient to prove that the general feeling of the meeting was against *Catholic Emancipation*? If the people had been favourable to that measure, would not the banner have been kept up? Would it not have been kept up, even if they had been divided upon the subject? Nay, would Mr. LARKIN, in the presence of Mr. SHEIL and Dr. DOYLE, and in the presence of all his countrymen, have struck that which may be called the Royal Standard of the day, if he had not been certain that the people were decidedly against the cause, of which that standard was the symbol? This symbol was hoisted in a spot, surrounded by what Mr. HUNT calls the "liberal

party." It was not put down by the Brunswickers; for they were all on the other side of the horse-shoe. They, doubtless, would have scoffed at it; but they had not time to do this, it having at once been hooted down by their opponents. And, Sir, am I not justified, upon this ground alone, if there were no other, in stating my belief, my firm conviction, and indeed my certain knowledge, that, if the plain and simple question could have been put, to every man at the Meeting, *Catholic Emancipation*, or no *Catholic Emancipation*, there would not have been ten inhabitants of Kent, some Catholics excepted, who would have dared to hold up their hands for the affirmative?

I may now, I think, Sir, leave Mr. SHEIL to go back and be covered with the honours due to the success which he has met with in England, and then to assist in preparing speeches to be published when he shall come over in the winter to accompany his rival in eloquence and sincerity, the celebrated *Member for Clare*. But, Sir, if he should have a quarter of an hour leisure before his departure, he may as well give us an answer to your acute and pinching observations in the third column of the second page of your paper of the 30th October, which call upon him to account for the strange apparent inconsistency of coming to England to beseech the people here to support the cause of *Emancipation*, when the Irish Catholics have it already; having legally elected Mr. O'CONNELL to sit in the House of Commons, or having been deceived in the grossest manner by this very Mr. SHEIL, who was O'Connell's Counsellor at the election at Clare, and on which election the Association proclaims that it expended twelve thousand pounds of the Rent in one week!

Begging your pardon for having given you so much trouble on so unworthy a subject, and promising not to trespass on you on that subject again,

I remain,

Your much obliged, and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## COBBETT'S CORN.

To the Editor of the Morning Herald.

Barn-Elm Farm, Oct. 29.

SIR,—Having now got back to this quiet scene, and banished from my recollection, as much as I am able, the “immortal” eloquence of the “illustrious” SHEIL, who had the kindness to come away from “*the first gem of the sea*”; who had the public spirit to make this immense sacrifice, purely for the purpose of enlightening the “*Kentish Boors*,” as a Morning Contemporary of yours had the politeness to denominate us, which we thought a little hard when we saw, in the same paper, four columns of a speech of the “illustrious” orator, to which, as it there appeared, we had listened without giving him even the smallest interruption; having got back from the bustle of the scene here alluded to, and partly forgotten (for I never can quite forget) the effect of that surprising eloquence, which, from the zeal of the orator, started into print in London, even before he got to the scene of his verbal display; having, in short, come back to this scene of tranquillity, where the object is, not to furnish food of that sublime kind, that intellectual nourishment, a specimen of which the “illustrious” and soul-moving agitator brought us from Ireland, but food to sustain the grosser part of human beings; having thus returned, Sir, and divested myself as much as possible of the effect of the intellectual repast, in which work of divesting I have been mainly assisted by a very good appetite; having thus returned, and being in this state of mind, I beg leave, once more, to address you on a subject much more interesting to the far greater part of your readers, than that of any thing that can be furnished you, by either, or both of the “illustrious” Catholic Associations.

If tomorrow be fine, I shall begin harvesting my corn, and shall, I think, finish the harvest in about four days. It is completely ripe and hard, and I am disappointed in it in no one respect. But, Sir, the subject on which I am about to give you information, at present, is, the capacity, or fitness, of the flour of this

corn for the *making of bread*. You had the goodness to insert, some days ago, an account which I gave you of bread having been made from this corn, mixed with wheat, and sold by Mr. Sapsford, baker, corner of Queen Ann and Wimpole-street, Marylebone. In consequence of that publication, Mr. Sapsford has had many applications for the bread; and I have received information from him that he intends to continue to make it for sale. He has sent me a loaf made of *one-third* corn-flour, and *two-thirds* wheat-flour. This bread is very good and very light. He also informs me that Indian corn flour will, weight for weight, make *more bread* than the best of wheat flour; and he says that I may very easily convince myself of the fact by the following simple experiment:—“Put a quarter of a pound of wheat flour into a basin; and, in another, put a quarter of a pound of corn flour; then pour into each basin a wine glass and a half of warm water; and, when you have stirred each up with a spoon, you will find that it will require *more water* to mix up the flour of the corn than the flour of the wheat; consequently, the *weight of the dough* of the corn flour will be greater than that of the wheat.” He adds—“There will be, no doubt, various opinions as regards the goodness of the bread. We differ in our tastes; some will like this sort of bread better, and others not so well, as bread made wholly of wheat. My object for making the trial was *not profit*; but that the public might be convinced that very good *nutritious* bread might be made from Indian corn flour. There cannot now be any doubt upon the subject. I have sold the one-pound loaves at twopence-halfpenny each, which is about a halfpenny in the pound less than that made of the best wheat flour. I have hitherto made the bread under several disadvantages. I have discovered, by various trials, the best method of making the bread. The bread has not always been equally good; it has many times been made in a hurry, the demand being much greater than I expected, and I being unwilling to disappoint persons, some of whom have come from a great distance. Some



persons write for it under the name of "*Cobbett Bread*."

Mr. SAPSFORD has promised to give me, to be inserted in my book, *which is to appear on the 26th November*, a detailed and minute account of making the bread, for which I shall be exceedingly obliged to him, in which expression of gratitude I am sure the public will join.

Pray, Sir, contemplate for a moment the great advantages of this crop to this country. Mr. Sapsford must now purchase his Indian corn with a duty of *fourteen shillings and sixpence a quarter upon it*. Take off the duty and it would be twenty-five shillings a quarter. Yet, even with the present duty on it, here is one halfpenny saved to the consumer *out of five*. There is, in fact, *one-fifth part added to the bread crop of the country*, and that, too, of bread which I say, and which every American will say, is sweeter and more nutritious than bread made of the best wheat flour alone. The thing is, then, put beyond all dispute. My crop of corn is now ripe, and the only question that remains to be settled is the *amount of the crop per acre*; seeing that we have had a summer as unfavourable as it possibly could have been for this crop, the sight of which has so delighted me this morning that it has really almost obliterated from my mind the recollection of the "*illustrious*" standard which waved over the head of the "*illustrious*" SHEIL on Penenden Heath.

I beg leave to request that those editors of London papers who have heretofore published my articles on this interesting subject, will be so good as to copy this from your paper, I not having time to make copies for them all.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged and

Most obedient Servant,

WM COBBETT.

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“Can get clothes that are fit to be seen?  
“I’ve tried all the town, or nearly, and swear I  
“Saw scarce a good garment, ’tis true, I declare I  
“Know not the place where I’ve not been.”  
“Then I do,” said his friend, “for, from what you now say,  
“That you can’t get clothes fit to be worn;  
“I know, (though to get them you’ve tried every day)  
“There’s one you’ve not tried, and a wager I’ll lay,  
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“Four doors west from Salisbury-square)  
“The dress you require, he’ll make for you in haste;  
“There’s none so well cut—so well made:—nor so chaste,  
“As to equal the clothes you’ll get there.”

WINTERBOURN AND Co. take this method of informing those Gentlemen, who have not yet favoured them with their orders, that their shop is called (and very properly too) the

“DEPÔT OF TASTE,”

AND IS

No. 78, FLEET-STREET,

Where Specimens (fully answering the above description) may be seen, and are selling at the following Prices:—

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Superfine Cloth Coats ..	2	10	0	to	3	3	0
Kerseymere Trousers ...	1	0	0	to	1	8	0
Ditto Waistcoats .....	0	12	0	to	0	14	0
A complete Suit of Livery	4	0	0	to	4	4	0

N. B. The “DEPÔT OF TASTE” is almost universally acknowledged to be the cheapest Clothing Establishment in the Metropolis.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson’s court; and published by him, at 183, Fleet street.